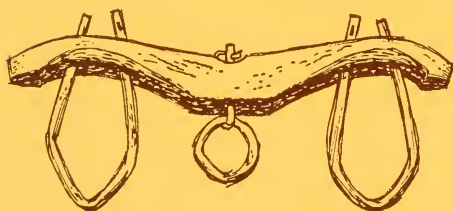


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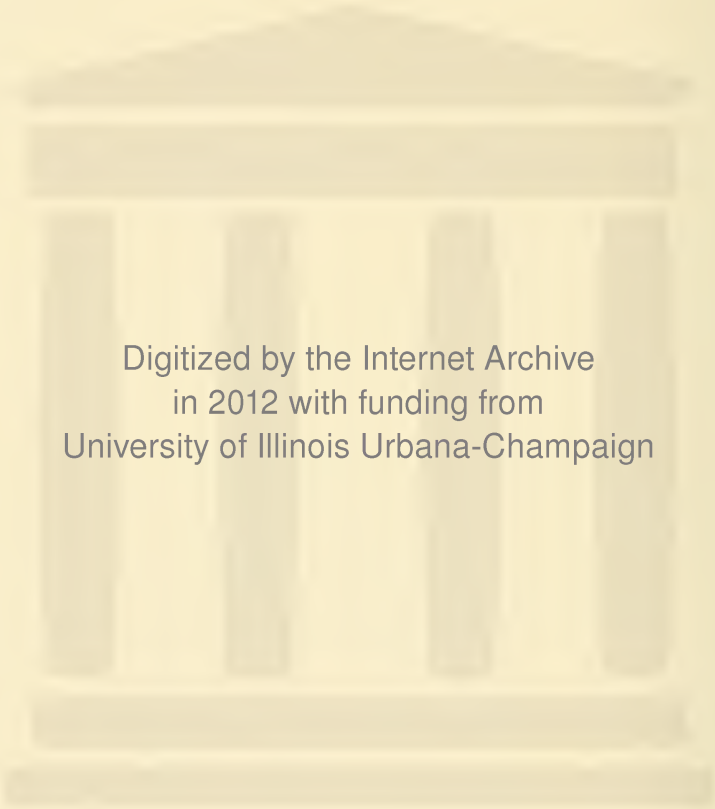
by

R. D. PACKARD

*"I insist that if there is anything which
it is the duty of the whole people never
to intrust to any hands but their own,
that thing is the preservation and perpetu-
ity of their own liberties and institutions."*

—Abraham Lincoln.

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LINCOLN AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

A little over one hundred years ago a noted New England scholar, William E. Channing, wrote an essay called "The Greatness of Napoleon." Dr. Channing mentioned three types of greatness: lowest in his estimate he placed the greatness of action, and to this category he assigned the militaristic Bonaparte; next he listed "intellectual greatness", a rank which could be given to such a statesman as Woodrow Wilson. Dr. Channing rated the remaining type far above the others.

"The first rank" he said, "is unquestionably moral greatness, or magnanimity; that sublime energy by which the soul binds itself indissolubly for life and for death, to truth and duty; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; withstands all the powers of the universe which would sever it from the cause of freedom; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour; and is ever ready to be offered up on the altar of its country and mankind." "Moral greatness," he added, "has much simplicity, is unostentatious."

The parade of the centuries has turned up but a handful of men who have met these exacting requirements. In its one hundred and fifty years the United States has produced only one. About the time Dr. Channing was writing his essay, Abraham Lincoln, then a young storekeeper in an isolated Illinois village, was making his painful way toward such a destiny; for Lincoln gained enduring fame during the fearful crises of his presidency because he possessed, in addition to marked native ability and an abundance of common sense, the rare attributes of "moral greatness."

Since the Civil War there has persisted the popular custom of comparing current political idols with Lincoln. Few public men of consequence have escaped. Some have suffered greatly in the comparison and all have lacked his exceptional gifts. The works and memory of each have receded with the passing years but the lonely figure of Lincoln has steadily increased in stature and in its domination of the American historical scene.

Today a new idol, Franklin Roosevelt, is being proclaimed by some of his followers as "our greatest president," implying that we have witnessed, in the present occupant of the White House, the eclipse of all others. Nor do the President's partisans hesitate to in-

terpret his popularity with the masses as an indication that he has those qualities which distinguish Lincoln from other statesman.

Such statements could be successfully challenged even though no Lincolnian pretensions had been injected. They are an affront to all who have even a superficial knowledge of Lincoln's kingly endowments of mind and heart. To these it may seem strange that a comparison of the two men is thought fitting or necessary.

Yet it may be well, in these troubled times, to call up for review the remarkable capacity for leadership which Lincoln displayed in his critical hour and to consider those characteristics which endear his memory much beyond that of any other American.

If President Roosevelt ever deserves the claims being made for him it will only be when he has shown Lincoln's ability to deal impartially and correctly with complicated situations and when he has manifested the understanding, tolerance, and magnanimity which raised the Civil War leader from a mere president and a politician to his enviable place among the world's immortals.

LINCOLN'S GREATER TRIAL

Thoughtful students are not impressed by those who would have us believe that the difficulties which have beset President Roosevelt have been greater than those with which any other president has had to contend.

No reasonable person doubts the importance of the emergencies of the past few years; neither is there a general disposition to under-estimate economic problems. But whatever the perplexities of the present administration, by far the most trying time for any Chief Executive was the tragic period of 1861-65.

Before Lincoln reached Washington the country was actually divided and apparently hopelessly so. Secession was a reality. His inauguration was assured only by placing artillery pieces at strategic points about the city. During his entire presidency the Capitol was infested with spies in service against the government. The first plot to kill him, one of many, was conceived even before his entry into the city. Even his warmest friends were suspicious of his ability and failure seemed but a matter of time. Lincoln began his presidency under these distressing circumstances.

There is now a complaint that President Roosevelt has enemies who add to his problems. Lincoln had many more, and, in his case, these included some of his advisers who were building their own political hopes upon his expected downfall. His relations with the

members of his cabinet and with the army leaders reveal enough potential woe to have vanquished any but a president with an uncommon capacity for leadership.

Four years of fiery trial awaited this plain Illinois lawyer. Not once during his entire first term did he have a popular following sufficient to support his policies. The elections of 1862 went disastrously against his administration. His re-election two years later was made possible only by important successes of the Union forces in the last few weeks before election. Lincoln himself had given up all hope of a second endorsement. The pivotal state of New York gave him a majority of less than one per cent of its total vote. His margin in Pennsylvania, where he had delivered his Gettysburg oration the year before, was less than four per cent of the votes cast.

Military, financial, and political problems of vital importance engaged Lincoln's constant attention; he alone was wise enough to make the answers required by our strained relations with other countries. A slight error in judgment on the part of this untried leader could easily have rendered useless the costly struggle made for the maintenance of the Union. His was the most difficult task which ever confronted the head of any nation.

Let us also consider the personal indignities and the hostility which greeted President Lincoln. He was furiously hated and caricatured with such insolence, both at home and abroad, that if we did not have the appalling evidence it would be hard to believe that any president could have been the subject of such intentional meanness. It is not an exaggeration to say that more animosity was directed against the gentle Lincoln than against all other presidents combined, not excepting Mr. Roosevelt.

If we would understand the terrific pressure of Lincoln's years in the White House, we can do so in no better way than by examining two of his photographs. The first may be any of those made in Springfield following his nomination. The second is his last picture, taken less than a week before his death. These show the heavy toll he paid in those intervening years. They tell the story of a man who gave all of himself to his country and remind us that the only presidential vacations Lincoln had during those sultry Washington summers was an occasional night spent at a place known as the Soldier's Home. This "summer White House" was but four miles away.

Mr. Roosevelt's problems have been many and intricate. It would be folly to place a low estimate on his presidential responsibilities. These have been well above the average of those assumed

by his predecessors. But they do not compare with the trials of Lincoln who was forced to solve his problems in the face of staggering obstacles.

Compare the reception and treatment that President Lincoln received with the warm welcome and country-wide support generously accorded President Roosevelt during his first term. If the people are now less willing to follow blindly wherever he leads and are less docile to his demands, the fault is with him and not with them. His support is still strong enough to rank as the best ever given any president.

CONSERVATISM IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

Leading all other claims made to give substance to President Roosevelt's bid for greatness is his humanitarianism. There is a conception, widely accepted, that he has wrought wonderfully and well for the under-privileged. His popularity rests almost entirely upon this foundation.

The advantage of Lincoln over Roosevelt, from a humanitarian standpoint, it not to be found in their personal feelings with respect to the ill-favored. We may credit both with a sincere desire for a more equitable social adjustment. Neither do their backgrounds, though wholly unlike, explain the difference. We must ascertain the practical value of their humanitarianism. To do so is to divulge one of the many points on which their records differ sharply.

Roosevelt was elected only because of the failure of his opponent to halt the ravages of a depression. His first presidential efforts were directed against this common enemy, but, finding economic questions much too profound for quick and easy mastery, the President, who has shown none of Lincoln's magnificent patience, soon preferred the more spectacular business of reform.

Whatever we may think of the Roosevelt objectives, it should be quite clear that only the net advantages gained by society through his leadership will be the measure of his worth as a humanitarian. However desirable in themselves, his objectives are wholly dependent for their practical application upon a satisfactory solution of the problem of recovery and they will be meaningless if not based upon it. Recovery, for which the President does not now seem to have a passion, has indeed become a minor phase of his diagnosis and program.

The President's answer to the needs of his day is the multiplication of low-income project workers and similar makeshifts. His own statesmanship, in spite of his criticism of his predecessor, has not yet proved itself capable of providing any better means of solving the

economic problems presented to his administration. In the absence of proposals more necessary in the present situation he continues to emphasize measures of lesser value to the people. About the only purpose served by some of these measures is to keep his prestige as a humanitarian bright and shining.

Because there is so little security now, is it not unusual that a security of the distant future should be thought of first importance to anyone or of any importance whatever to the many millions who cannot hope to qualify for its provisions?

The "more abundant life," of which we have heard much, remains a mirage of the President's wishful thinking, and the glittering promises he has made to the unfortunate remain unfulfilled. Regardless of the intentions behind such promises, they strongly suggest the demagogue and have added nothing to his record.

General Hugh S. Johnson, who is in sympathy with the President's aims, recently made the following comment regarding the social progress actually made by the Roosevelt policies:

"Not all the relief lending and spending—not all the social security and revised policies looking toward a more humanitarian government—can make up for the far greater actual deprivation and hardship of the present, coupled with its constant threat of new and unknown dangers.

"The truth is that this great forward five-year movement toward 'recovery and reform' has been long on reform of principles but woefully lacking on recovery in practice.

"That raises the vital question of the whole problem. 'Can't we have reform without sacrificing recovery?' If the answer to that is 'no', reform is worthless and sterile because millions would be better off with recovery."

Mr. Roosevelt's penchant for getting "the cart before the horse" recalls a quaint remark of Lincoln's, one which discloses not only his sense of humor but also his awareness of the real situation his presidency faced. Discussing a minor political appointment at a critical time he said, "I feel like a man who is renting out rooms in the front of a house while the rear of the house is on fire."

The greatest value which can be given to the President's humanitarianism is the prominence he has given to social problems. His good intentions have not solved the underlying causes involved in these problems but, because of the wide publicity given them, they will probably continue to receive whatever attention their true importance deserves.

In dealing with his problems, Lincoln had the discriminating intelligence to put "first things first."

Lincoln opposed slavery all his life. From his early days in the Illinois Legislature, when he signed a resolution protesting, "that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy," his convictions were well known. Significant, however, was another statement in the same resolution; namely, "that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils."

When Lincoln later refused to accept the methods of the Abolitionists, their wrath was visited upon him. But not even the Fugitive Slave Law, which was very offensive to him, could swerve him from his position that justice for the negro should be sought only through legal channels.

The Abolitionists contended that Lincoln's election to the presidency as an anti-slavery man gave him a mandate to abolish slavery. He did not concur in their opinion. He believed that his obligation was to preserve the Union. He looked upon the Constitution as perhaps the last great experiment in Democracy and, much as he deplored slavery, he believed that the survival of our form of government was of vastly greater importance than the freedom of the negro.

It became Lincoln's passion to save the Union and he determined to do so without regard to slavery. He knew that this reform, or any other, would be ineffective unless the Union prevailed.

He finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a military measure intended to strengthen the Union arms. As such it was authorized by the Constitution. Laying aside every personal inclination in his handling of the slavery question, Lincoln timed his famous document so that its primary purpose was accomplished. Later, with Union success virtually assured, he devoted his energies to the enactment of a constitutional amendment, extending and perpetuating the emancipation which the proclamation had initiated.

Lincoln's clear thinking bequeathed to us an undivided nation, and gave him the joy of being an instrument in bringing about a reform he had hoped for all his life. Such a distinction came to him only because he was able to comprehend the relative significance of his problems.

There is a superb lesson for today in the fact that the crowning reform in American history was accomplished by a conservative, a believer in constitutional methods, a leader who refused to be distracted from the main job. A further fact of considerable per-

tinence is that although Lincoln was by no means the loudest champion the slaves had, he became their deliverer because he was the most intelligent one.

An evangelist, President Roosevelt is frankly contemptuous of conservatives and has labeled them according to his fancy. Wendell Phillips, an evangelist of the anti-slavery movement, felt the same way about the conservatives of his day. Because Lincoln disagreed with him as to methods, Phillips, who did not have the slightest notion as to how slavery could be legally abolished, called him "the slave hound from Illinois," thereby clouding his own title to a more commanding place in the history of his time.

Lincoln was a conservative. It is well today to recall one of his statements: "I have never been, am not now, and probably never shall be in a mood of harassing the people, either north or south." Though he sought the same objectives as the Abolitionists, he did not share either their futile dreaming or their intolerance and he was above their name-calling. His career is one of history's most powerful examples of the value of a practical humanitarian in dealing with an important social problem.

The late John Drinkwater, in his excellent essay, "The World's Lincoln," has thus expressed the strong position conservatives have occupied in the affairs of the world:

"A lesson that history teaches us with unwearying patience, and one which is yet unheeded by many active members of society is that the truly great man is not the extremist. *** The rebels have their honor in the world and rightly. Their cause is often enlightened, and they serve it often with a loyalty that is reckless of self-interest, a loyalty it may be noted, which may be no less staunch when the cause happens to be a reactionary one. *** But given the admittedly rare virtue of personal fearlessness, this kind of fanaticism, whatever its purpose, is a far less majestic thing in character than the tenacity with which the really heroic men of the world have pursued a moderate course, refusing to be intimidated by furies on either side of them. And of the great moderates in history none is greater than Lincoln."

President Roosevelt, contrary to all human experience, professes the discovery that all "furies" are now on one side. The facts of history incline to the belief that those of his objectives which are found worthy will, in the fullness of time, be brought to a practical fruition through the patient efforts of a "moderate."

ORATORS AND POLITICIANS

The ability of Lincoln to solve the problems of his time set him apart from his contemporaries, many of whom were great men in

their own right. His first big margin of excellence was his superior intellect. Other of his qualities are recalled when we hear the superlatives now used to describe the abilities of Mr. Roosevelt, who is said, among other things, to be the "greatest orator" and the "smartest politician" of all the presidents.

Judged as an orator, the President's masters are numerous. Many presidents— even Harding—surpassed him, not to mention such renowned orators as Henry, Webster, Clay, Conkling, Ingersoll, and Bryan. A yet wider gulf separates his pleasant addresses from Lincoln's matchless eloquence.

The President's "golden voice" which has "charmed" millions of radio listeners has the faculty of making even the weakest pronouncements with impressive suavity. His speeches, which have been quite numerous and of some length, have been composed by those well acquainted with his most engaging manner. Clever phrasing is fitted to his personality. Redundant with implications of his own righteousness and of the unrighteousness of any who do not see eye to eye with him, his talks are carefully planned to promote his personal popularity with the largest number of voters. As documents, they cannot stand the test of close examination.

Such speeches may be good political strategy but they are of permanent interest only as examples of unusually effective histrionic ability in a high place. Great orators do not impress with smoothly-spoken banalities. They command our attention with their unanswerable logic.

The burning passion of a gifted speaker for a great cause is necessary to produce the highest oratorical artistry. Such an occasion was November 19, 1863, when Lincoln uttered his few words at Gettysburg. Nor was this the only time Lincoln rose to sublime heights in impassioned speech. A half dozen times he proved himself worthy of a place with Demosthenes and Pitt. But like all great orators he was not stirred to speech by every passing event. Were he president today we may be certain that he would not take advantage of the radio to repeatedly harangue the people on his accomplishments.

It will generally be conceded that Mr. Roosevelt has a flair for politics. While his successful campaigns for the presidency cannot be credited to his political acumen, or that of Mr. Farley, but rather to a hopeful and expectant electorate, the President undoubtedly possesses a shrewd understanding of political technique.

From his twenty-third year Lincoln was schooled in caucus and

convention. He supplemented this practical experience with a constant quest of political information, obtained mainly by the laborious method of writing letters by hand to influential leaders throughout the country. Although his political sagacity has been overshadowed by other phases of his career, few have equalled his ability as a player in the great American game of politics. He was so well adapted to politics that volumes dealing with this particular ability now help to swell the ever-growing Lincoln literature.

A great deal of evidence could be marshalled to prove that Lincoln's political skill exceeded that of Mr. Roosevelt or any other president. But any comparison of Lincoln and Roosevelt as politicians must consider the fact that Lincoln's presidency was not marked by the high adventures of the Chief Executive into partisan politics, something we have come to expect in the case of President Roosevelt, whose success in forcing his party leaders to do his bidding has received so much publicity.

There is no intention to infer that Lincoln was not fully conscious of the political situation throughout his presidency or that he ever lost his interest in politics, but in his great desire to save the Union he rose above every political consideration. His country's unhappy plight removed the last vestige of his personal ambition, and many months of daily agonizing for his stricken people made him heedless of partisan demands. The master politician became the most revered statesman of the modern world.

It should not be necessary to point out that the purely political activities of President Roosevelt have become more conspicuous with each decline of the national welfare. Lincoln offered to help another man into the presidency if he would help him save the Union. This was not "smart" politics according to the standard of Mr. Roosevelt—his conception of the high office includes only himself. On such a basis the President is the "smartest" politician.

CHARACTERISTICS AND CHARACTER

As impressive as the differences in the abilities of Lincoln and Roosevelt are, they do not represent the greatest contrast between them. Dr. Channing's definition provides the key to that contrast. When applied to Lincoln, the accuracy of his words is uncanny, but who will have the presumption to say that his definition of "moral greatness" is in any sense descriptive of President Roosevelt?

We were recently given an interesting word picture of Mr. Roosevelt. He was explaining his version of economic forces, illustrating

his remarks with a graph. There is a strange analogy between this picture and one recorded of President Lincoln. In Lincoln's case the graph was a map of the battlefields upon which the armies of the North and South were struggling, and he was wont to explain his military theories to members of his cabinet and others. A man of peace, he had become an intense student of military strategy.

There is disagreement as to the progress Lincoln made, in his personal attempt to solve the problems, caused by the ineffectiveness of his army leaders. Whether he was or was not a military genius is unimportant, but it was of tremendous importance that, whatever he knew about a matter so vital to the survival of the government, he sought a man who knew more. When Lincoln found that man he placed him, without interference, at the head of all the armies.

Mr. Roosevelt's knowledge of economics, the primary problem of today, may be likened to that possessed by Lincoln in regard to military affairs. Here the analogy ends, because the President apparently does not care to appropriate the ability of any one whose knowledge might be regarded as superior to his own. His record plainly indicates that his desire for the country's advancement does not extend to any action which might be considered a reflection on his own ability or authority. This gives no impression of greatness.

Mr. Roosevelt would not have said, as Lincoln did, "I will hold General McClellan's horse for him if he will give us victories", nor does he appear to be the caliber of man who would have written the following letter to General Grant:

"My Dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further *** When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln."

One of the President's most noticeable weaknesses is his intolerance of those who have opinions which do not agree exactly with his own. Lincoln's magnanimous attitude toward others, including his opposition, was one of his imposing characteristics. When he said "I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me", Lincoln

set a mark which no other American statesman has reached, least of all Mr. Roosevelt.

A significant commentary on Mr. Roosevelt's intolerance followed the defeat of one of his favored measures. This was his announcement that there would be "no recriminations" in the case of public representatives who had voted against his wishes. The president of the United States felt obliged to let it be known that he would not seek revenge this time in dealing with those who had not agreed with him. Such an announcement was evidently thought necessary because retaliation has come to be regarded as his usual policy.

Lincoln never had to inform the people that he was going to be tolerant of the rights or opinions of others for the simple reason that his generous nature never knew how to be intolerant. Two more of his statements may be quoted to show his respect for the right of every man to his own opinions. At one time he said "the subject is difficult, and good men do not agree," and at another time, "we should urge it persuasively, not menacingly."

Since his second inauguration, the President, confident in his "mandate", has tolerated none who have assumed an independence of judgment. When he recently said of one who had displeased him, "I am impelled to make it clear that on most public questions he and I do not speak the same language," the implication was plain. A politically-minded leader was demanding that a public servant be rejected for the sole reason that he had expressed his own will. Such arrogance is unknown to the American presidency.

Mr. Roosevelt has given us many examples of his intolerance. His "petulance", because of opposition to his will, is being reported with increasing frequency. He would overcome his opposition by destroying it, not a pleasant thing to contemplate in a democracy. A statement Lincoln once made, "I go no further than this because I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation," stresses the startling disparity in their philosophy concerning the executive function.

It would be difficult indeed to imagine Lincoln attempting to stand in judgment of any man as the President did in his "interview" with Dr. Arthur E. Morgan. The Roosevelt attitude on that occasion differed fundamentally from Lincoln's method of dealing with men and recalls Lincoln's treatment of his subordinates. He was always patient and kindly, evidencing his high regard for the rights

and feelings of others regardless of their position, and showing his deep insight into the strength and frailties of human nature.

Humility and modesty, virtues characteristic of Lincoln in striking degree, are always possessed by the truly great. President Roosevelt, in referring to the industrial gains following his second inauguration, said "we planned it that way", an immodest statement, and in the light of later developments, a very foolish one. Lincoln's contrasting statement was made after three years of civil conflict, and at a time when he was shaping every policy of the government. Writing to a friend he said, "I claim not to have controlled events but confess plainly that events have controlled me."

We have heard a great deal about the Roosevelt inclination to have members of his family share in the lucrative emoluments incidental to high office. This may be considered unimportant, but it is such trivial matters which reveal the basic character of a man. Lincoln's attitude in this was greatly unlike that of the President. The following letter calls attention to another important difference between them:

"Lieutenant-General Grant:

Please read and answer this letter as though I was not President, but only a friend. My son, now in his twenty-second year, having graduated at Harvard, wishes to see something of the war before it ends. I do not wish to put him in the ranks,* nor yet to give him a commission, to which those who have already served long are better entitled and better qualified to hold. Could he, without embarrassment to you or detriment to the service, go into your military family with some nominal rank, I, and not the public, furnishing his necessary means? If not, say so without the least hesitation, because I am as anxious and as deeply interested that you shall not be encumbered as you can be yourself.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln."

Lincoln's most publicized characteristic has always been his personal integrity. Throughout his amazing career no other trait so impressed his associates. It was not the kind of honesty that is confined to pecuniary transactions. "Honest Abe" meant just that, in his intentions as well as in his dealings. He shunned deceit and evasion, in word or in deed.

Of course this quality did not make Lincoln president. He would never have been heard from if he had had no qualifications

*—A concession to Mrs. Lincoln.

other than that of honesty. But as President he would have failed without it, for this characteristic was an indispensable factor in the success of his leadership.

Mr. Roosevelt has permitted his potential leadership to be handicapped by his questionable and evasive tactics. Probably not even the most optimistic and devoted of his followers would care to have his record placed beside Lincoln's inflexible honesty of purpose and action. He has condoned in some the things he has condemned in others and he has condemned that which he has condoned, his course apparently being directed by political expediency. Some of his statements have been misleading, and it is difficult to understand how they could have been made in sincerity.

Admirers of the President will do well to avoid such a comparison with Lincoln. In this matter of probity, Mr. Roosevelt rates not one whit better than most of the presidents and not as good as some. His promise (already alluded to) that there would be "no recriminations" is but one of many he has not kept. The first Roosevelt, and others, were men who kept promises. Their "word was as good as their bond."

SPIRITUAL QUALITIES AND IMMORTALITY

Any attempt to compare a living man with one who has passed on will always be subject to the hazard in predicting the place in history to be finally awarded to him whose career is not yet finished. The distinction of some has not been fully recognized during life, and many a promising claimant to greatness has blundered his way to obscurity before death closed the scene.

The status of Franklin Roosevelt, fifty years hence, is more likely to be a true estimate than today's appraisals. Nevertheless, the abilities and characteristics which will determine the place he will ultimately occupy are being manifested day by day. His career, although unfinished, has already produced much of the evidence which will later decide the legitimacy of his claim to greatness. All of this will be critically examined by the historian of tomorrow. Not only what he is able to accomplish in the way of a net gain for society but also his personal actions in bringing about such a gain, if accomplished, will be recorded in faithful detail. His methods, and his attitude toward those who do not share his beliefs, will prove quite as important as his objectives.

Simply, and without ostentation, Lincoln arrived at a fascinating goal in administrative genius and magnanimous statesmanship. He

was always conscious of an elemental truth, one which seems to have escaped Mr. Roosevelt; that questionable methods are never a lasting asset to any cause. Not the least of the factors contributing to his unique position was that he "scorned all meanness" and "withstood all the powers of the universe which would sever him from the cause of freedom."

Obviously President Roosevelt has not approached this high standard. Nor do the facts justify a hope that his name will eventually be associated with the few who have achieved "moral greatness." His unusual opportunities to demonstrate those traits which placed the stamp of divinity upon Lincoln he has exchanged for such questionable privileges as unhorsing those who oppose him, and his failure to be convincing as an impartial leader cannot but deny him the universal respect and affection which Lincoln gained.

Mr. Roosevelt's record will have to assume responsibility for a large part of the bitter animosities developed under his leadership. We may not agree as to his own part in furthering the hate-producing strife of the social "advance," but he has either lacked Lincoln's powers of conciliation, or, having such powers, he has refused to use them.

However, the President's popularity, while somewhat diminished, is still the most powerful factor in the current political situation. It may easily carry him into a third term. Yet neither circumstance will, of itself, assure a high place to his memory. To secure this, his statesmanship must prove equal to the actual needs of his time and his personal reactions must leave no impression of petty unbelief in the sincerity of those who hold to other views.

It should be remembered that the stately Memorial on the Potomac was created, not because Lincoln was president or even because he preserved the Union and freed the slaves, but because he reached the very top in personal triumph over the hatred and prejudice of his day.

His majestic spirit was the wooer of immortality.

Those of Mr. Roosevelt's followers who advocate his fitness to keep the exalted company of Lincoln have not calculated the impressive combination of attributes possessed by America's most illustrious character, nor have they weighed the great array of evidence which testifies to the unselfishness with which those attributes were "offered up on the altar of his country and mankind."





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